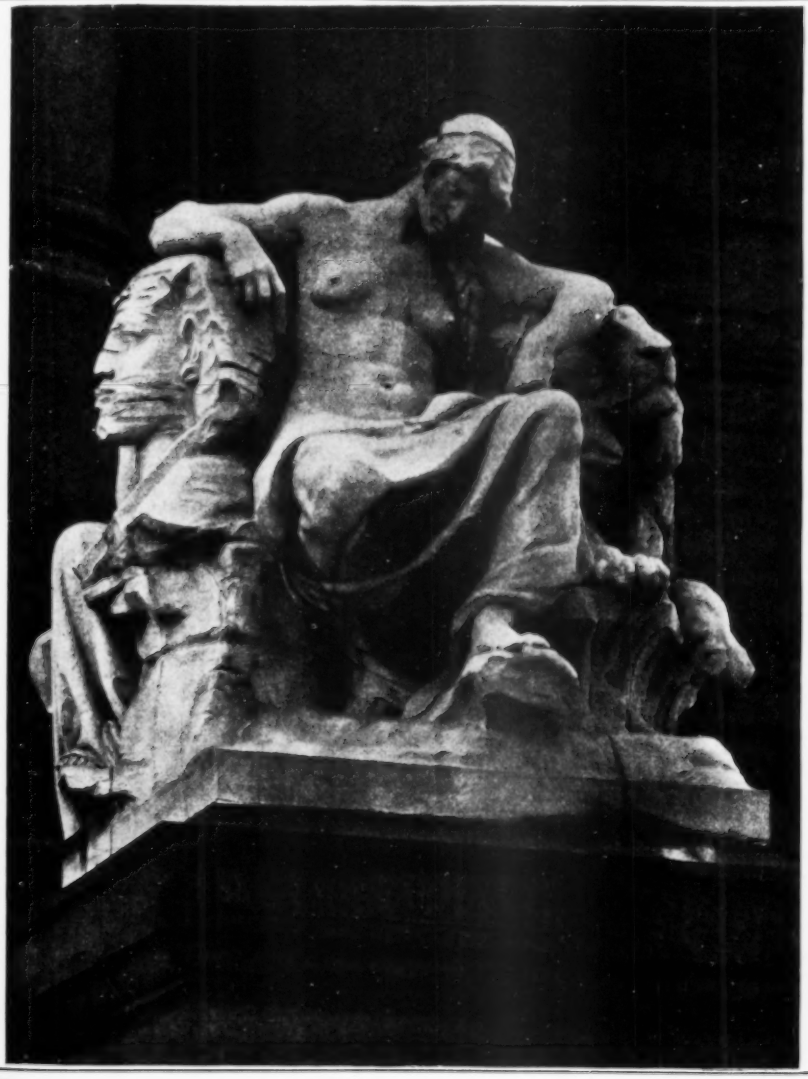
The CRISIS

Vol. 21—No. 3 JANUARY, 1921 Whole No. 123



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THE CRISIS

Vol. 21. No. 3 JANUARY, 1921 Whole No. 123

Opinion of W. E. B. Du Bois

It's better to be Right than White—

PAN-AFRICA

THE Second Pan-African Conference under the Presidency of Blaise Diagne, Deputy from Senegal to the Parliament of France and Commissioner of African French Troops in the late war, has been called by the executive committee through its secretary, W. E. B. DuBois, to meet in Paris, in the early fall of 1921. All Negro governments and groups and all Negro organizations interested in the peoples of African descent will be invited to participate. Governments with colonies in Africa will be invited to send official spokesmen. The N. A. A. C. P. financed the first Congress and will underwrite the call for the second. Its official connection will thereupon cease and the Pan-African Congress will, it is hoped, become thereafter a permanent, self-supporting body. Further information can be had at the office of THE CRISIS, from which official invitations will soon issue.

THRIFT

A TEACHER writes us from Texas:

"Now that prices are on the decline and there is a consequent rise in the value of money, it occurs to me that this is an opportune time to start a national thrift movement among our people.

"Such a note should be sounded by our newspapers, magazines and periodicals of every kind. The preacher should proclaim it from the pulpit; the teacher from the lecture platform. It ought to be the watch word of every household.

"To have such a movement suggested by you in THE CRISIS, I think, would be timely and fruitful."

This is a wise word. During the last five years American Negroes have handled more money than in the preceding twenty years. With it they have bought millions of dollars' worth of property and invested other millions in business, insurance and education. But for every dollar thus wisely used, five dollars have been foolishly wasted.

We are not of those who decry the extravagance of the poor and see economic salvation in the luxury of the rich. Waste is waste whether in Harlem or on Fifth Avenue or in the poppy fields of Flanders, and the antidote for waste is not miserliness but wise expenditure.

Now, wise expenditure for Negroes today includes not simply good homes but good bank accounts. Money is rising in value. A dollar saved todays means much more than a dollar tomorrow. We need to earn and control capital. All poor folk need to save and learn how to control capital. The capital which is today ruling the world is not the capital of the rich—it is the capital of the middle class and poor. The *control* of it is in the hands of the rich and that is the reason they *are* rich. The *control* must through democratic methods gradually shift to the hands of masses as the masses are taught or teach themselves the science of capitalistic production.

But the anger of the poor against those who control wealth must not, as it so often does, become anger against wealth. The world needs and must have capital if present culture is to be maintained. The Negro race needs

and needs desperately larger and larger amounts of capital for its emancipation. While then we strive to learn to control capital, we must simultaneously strive to save it.

Thrift, saving, care and foresight are the watchwords for black folk today as never before. We are not going to be saved by high-powered automobiles and sables but rather by the canny savings balance, the wise investment, and the wide surplus of income over expense.

Much of what we save is thus put into the control of our white enemies. There are white banks in Texas, in Atlanta and in black Harlem that with millions of Negro money would sooner lend to the devil than to a Negro business enterprise. But the race is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong: our business enterprise is rising and thriving and it is a democratic business and not an oligarchy of millionaires. We are gradually learning as a race to control capital and therein lies salvation for us and the Poor. But to control capital there must be capital to control: Save then, brothers,—save and invest. Remember Poor Richard, how he said:

"A penny saved is a penny earned."
"Waste not, want not."
"Plough deep while sluggards sleep."
"Remember that time is money."
"A man may, if he knows not how to save as he gets, keep his nose to the grindstone."
"It is hard for an empty bag to stand upright."

CHICAGO

WE would advise our Chicago friends to watch narrowly the work and forthcoming report of the Inter-racial Commission appointed by the Governor of Illinois after the late riot. The Commission consists of colored men who apparently have a much too complacent trust in their white friends; of white men who are too busy to know; and of enemies of the Negro race who under the guise of impartiality and good will are pushing insidiously but unswervingly a program of racial segregation. They have, for instance, sent a "questionnaire" to prominent colored men, consisting of 15 questions, which with all their surface frankness and innocence seek to betray black folk by means of the logical dilemma of "segregation" and "racial solidarity". By subtle suggestion these queries say: If you believe in colored churches, why not in colored ghettos? Does not Negro advancement increase anti-Negro hatred? Are not Negroes prejudiced against whites? Are not the mistakes of Negro leaders manifest? And so on.

Indeed if a professed enemy of black folk and their progress had set out to start a controversy so as to divide the Negroes and their friends in counsel and throw the whole burden of such nasty outbreaks of race hate as the East St. Louis, Washington and Chicago riots upon them, he would have framed just such a questionnaire as has been sent out by this Commission.

MOUNT HERMON

WE have just learned from a curious source of the excellent educational opportunities of American Negroes and the rich endowments of Negro colleges. Our informant is none other than the distinguished evangelist's son, William R. Moody, President of Mt. Hermon School at East Northfield, Mass. Writes Mr. Moody July 30, 1920, (the italics are ours):

"Yours of the 28th just at hand in respect to the son of the late Bishop Alexander Walters. While we always have a few colored boys in the school at Mount Hermon, *we do not encourage* their making application. There are, as you know, *many richly endowed* and well equipped schools for the colored race throughout the South. Racial needs have been a study in these schools, and the curriculum is *especially adapted* to these needs. It hardly seems to us advisable for a young person to come to a school like Mount Hermon or Northfield where the expense to us must of necessity be more than it is in a southern school, and where

the acceptance of a colored boy would mean the exclusion of some white boy for whom no adequate provision is made elsewhere. Of course there are exceptions. But with Fisk and Atlanta doing admirable work in academic work, while Hampton, Tuskegee and Calhoun are doing good work in elementary education and industrial courses, *we do not think we ought to encourage colored boys to come to Mount Hermon*, when it means that some white boy who is now applying would have to be refused, who could not go to these schools which have been so munificently provided."

This is true philanthropy and our hearts bleed at the spectacle of the poor white boy begging a chance while the idle and impudent Negro lads toast their heels in the munificence and wealth of Fisk, Hampton and Atlanta. Truth, however, compels us to append these figures:

Per capita expenditure for Negro education:	
Per year in South Carolina	$1.44
For white education	10.00
Average annual salaries of teachers in Alabama:	
Colored teachers	$158.73
White teachers	355.53
Colored public high schools in the South	64
White public high schools in the South	3,025

And finally as to Negro colleges there are in all 33 schools of which only 3 rank as "colleges", 15 as "colleges and high schools" and the rest as giving some college subjects. Of these only 10 have total incomes of over $20,000 a year as against one hundred and ten millions of annual income to white colleges. Alas! the poor white boy!

VOTES FOR NEGROES

THE astonishing thing about the Bourbon South is its intellectual bankruptcy when it comes to the Negro. It continually assumes that the Negro is a fool. Some Negroes are fools but the proportion among them is steadily decreasing, while that among the Bourbons seems to increase. When the average white Southerner faces the problem of racial contact he has absolutely nothing to offer except what he offered in 1861—namely:

The Will of God.

Force and Bloodshed, and

"The best friend in the world to the Negro is the southern white man—the only one who truly loves him!"

We quote from our ever-delightful friend, the editor of the Macon, Ga., *Telegraph*.

The tragedy of the situation is that this man believes what he says. He knows absolutely just the "place" for which God made "niggers"; but to support this sincere belief he spreads falsehoods. He says that the woman suffrage party by its secret machinations "probably" caused the bloodshed in the Florida elections! He threatens murder for black men who want to vote and almost weeps over the misguided Negroes who have left the Empire State of lynching and gone to Chicago.

There seems to be in this man's mind absolutely no conception of the tremendous, increasing, unswerving development of the Negro. To him all aspiration, unrest and complaints of black folk, are conspiracies of whites. For the blacks he has no program, no vision, except that they stay where they have always been, growing more content with "Jim Crow" cars, lynching and disfranchisement.

It is inconceivable to the mentality of this section of the white South that such a program is absolutely impossible. That if, in the end, the price we must pay for aspiration to modern manhood is death, and death in the most horrible form of public torture and burning like that in Florida—if to live we must die, then the South will have us to kill. Any man who does not prefer death to slavery is not worth freedom.

The enemy of those liberal-minded white Southerners who truly desire a more decent South and a more human program of Negro uplift will not be found in the Negro radical nearly as

much as in the supporters of the Macon *Telegraph* and their set. The black man must vote. Every Southerner with brains knows this. The Negro is awaiting his enfranchisement with greater patience than the South has any right to expect. But he will not wait forever. If he sees gathering signs of sanity—a willingness to let the intelligent and thrifty vote, an honest effort to establish law and order and overthrow the rule of the mob, a desire to substitute honest industrial conditions in place of the organized and entrenched theft of black wealth upon which southern industry is today based—such a program, tardy and slow and inadequate though it be, may count on the infinite patience and long suffering of Ethiopia.

But a plan of intransigentism built on absolute faith in the eternal stupidity and cowardice of Negroes, perpetual disfranchisement and the threat of mob law to uphold it—is there any man of intelligence and conscience who dares in the year of Christ, 1921, to lay down such a program for 12 million human beings who are more intelligent than the Bulgarians, wealthier than the Russians, physically stronger than the Italians, and cleaner in body and mind than the whole peasantry of Europe?

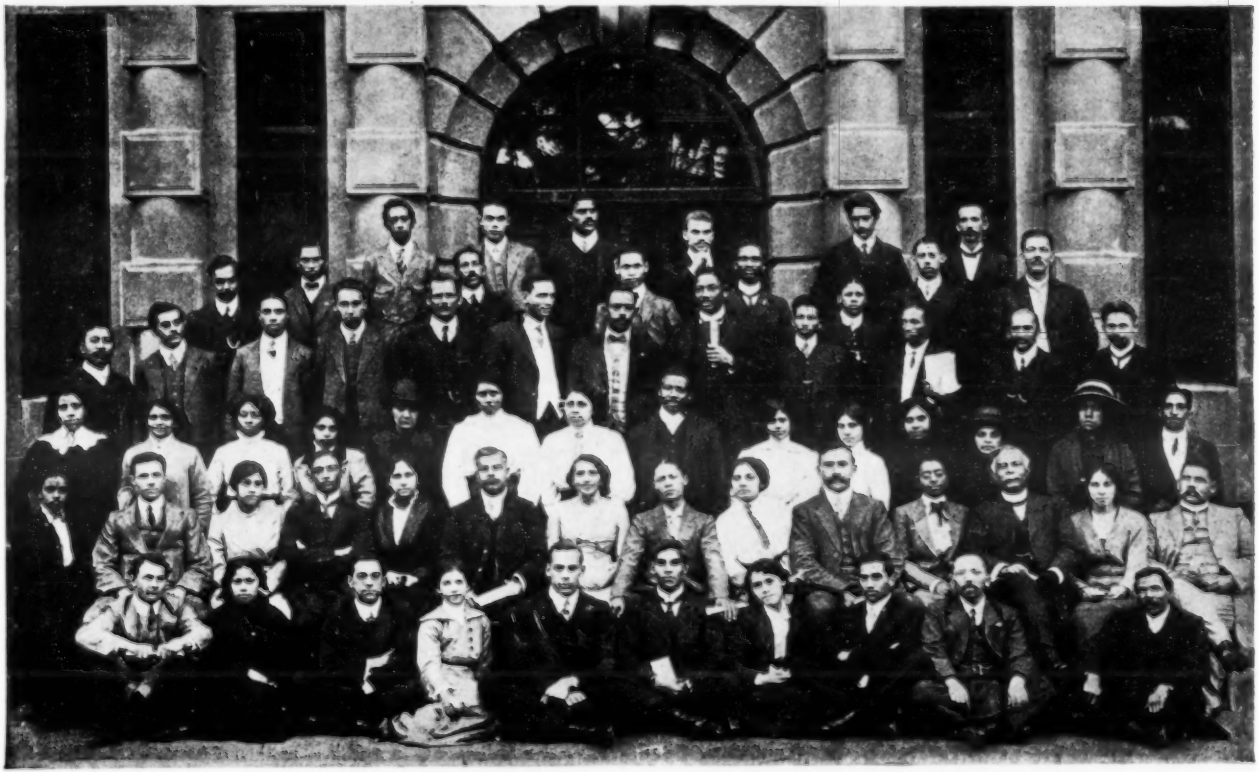
POLITICAL REBIRTH AND THE OFFICE SEEKER

SLOWLY but steadily and with unflinching determination the American Negro is returning to political power. In the last presidential election, black folk put 13 members of their race into the legislatures of the Northern States; they have dozens of representatives in the city councils, not to mention thousands in the civil service. Congressional districts in Missouri, Illinois, Pennsylvania and New York will put black men in Congress before 1925.

It is time, therefore, for us to consider seriously the use of our new and growing political power. We must realize that this country is not a democracy; that it is an oligarchy ruled by the Rich and Powerful, and that the right to vote is the beginning and not the end of the dream of transferring to the masses of men the power now held by the few. This can be done only by the study of modern political and social problems by colored voters, and above all by the discard of the chronic colored office seeker.

When President-elect Harding comes to power he will be besieged by black men who want to be Recorders of Deeds, Registers of the Treasury, Assistant Attorneys-General and Fifteenth Auditors. Their attitude, and too often the attitude of their endorsers, will be that "recognition" of the Negro by these largely ornamental offices is the aim and object of the Negro vote. It is time we disabused our own minds and the minds of the whites that the object of our voting is to procure bread and butter for a few unemployed politicians who have been vociferous during the campaign.

No! We want from the Republican Party and from any other party that deserves our votes, *not offices but deeds.* We sit absolutely unmoved by the appointment of a few figure heads at $2500 salaries, merely remarking that if such men used their brains in other directions they would spurn these petty offices; we stand determined to make some party, sooner or later, stop *lynching* by effectual Federal law; abolish *"Jim Crow"* cars in inter-state traffic; enforce the *13th amendment* by making peonage impossible; base representation in Congress on the actual vote cast; make *education* universal and compulsory; free *Haiti* from the South and the National City Bank; and put an effective *ballot* in the hands of every man and woman in the United States. This is going to be the price of the black vote. Let no politician seek to barter it for less.



COLORED TEACHERS OF CAPE COLONY, SOUTH AFRICA

ELECTION DAY IN FLORIDA

WALTER F. WHITE

AN unknown number of dead, men of property and standing forced to leave their homes and families under threat of death, thousands of qualified voters debarred from casting their ballots—these constitute a portion of the results of the elections of 1920 in the state of Florida. To that list might well be added an increased bitterness on the part of both white and colored people towards each other and another black mark entered in the books of colored people against the whites for what the former had to suffer.

It is not possible to write of race relations in the South today without giving due prominence to the revival of that sinister organization, the Ku Klux Klan. There is hardly a town or community to be found which does not have its branch. Certain it is that wherever one goes in the South one hears of the "Klucks" and what that order is going to do to maintain "white supremacy". Clothed in great secrecy and hinting of dire things to come, the pretensions of the noble "protectors of southern womanhood" would be ludicrous were it not for the vicious deeds already performed by branches in some of the smaller towns and rural communities. If one looks at the Ku Klux Klan solely from the viewpoint of the larger cities of the South like Jacksonville, Atlanta and Birmingham where the Negro population is concentrated in certain sections, the efforts of the Klan are patheticaly amusing and are treated as such by colored people. Forty years ago when the original Ku Klux did effective work in terrorizing, murdering and pillaging the Negroes of the South it was dealing with four million recently emancipated slaves with all of the characteristics following in the wake of two and a half centuries of human bondage. They were ignorant, superstitious, easily frightened, poorly organized, distrustful of each other and still believing that they were inferior to white men. It was a comparatively simple matter to envelop the Klan with a cloak of supernatural power and to send a colored man shivering to cover until a parade had passed.

Today, however, the setting is changed. A new generation of Negroes has arisen with thousands of university, college, high school and grammar school graduates among them; possessing property and the respect for self that accompanies such possessions. I have talked with many Negroes and with many white men in the South. I have found a far higher order of intelligence among Negroes than among whites, when one compares the two races grade for grade. In regard to the Klan, even the uneducated Negro looks upon it with amused contempt. His white brother, in most cases, cherishes a fatuous belief common to provincial and circumscribed minds that terroristic methods will be efficacious in "keeping the nigger in his place".

In Jacksonville, for example, a parade of the local Klan was held on Saturday night, October 30. Large numbers of colored people turned out to view the parade. One old colored woman of the antebellum type that is fast disappearing, called out derisively to the marching Klucks:

"White folks, you ain't done nothin'. Them German guns didn't scare us and I know them white faces ain't goin' to do it now."

That remark epitomizes the feeling. Phrased in better English it likewise expresses the sentiment among the larger number of educated colored citizens of Jacksonville. But beneath the amused tolerance there is a grim realization that the Klan will not spend its energy in marching—that the sinister purposes of the movement betoken no good to colored people. Negroes are prepared for trouble in every part of the South where I have been. They realize that they are outnumbered and outarmed and that death is the inevitable fate of many if clashes come.

The situation in the smaller towns and isolated rural communities where the Negro population is widely scattered is of a more serious nature. There the Klans can wreak their vengeance on any Negro who dares offend them by being too prosperous or being suspected of some crime, great or small, or by incurring the displeasure of any white man of the community. This vengeance extends to white men who offend

some loyal member of a Klan or who dares show too great friendliness for Negroes—whether for selfish or other motives. It is not considered improper but just the contrary for a white man or boy to debauch or consort with a colored woman, but no white man can treat a Negro as an equal. As a case in point read a Klan warning sent to a prominent white lawyer of a Florida town who advised Negroes to qualify, register and vote in the recent election. It reads:

We have been informed that you have been telling Negroes to register, explaining to them how to become citizens and how to assert their rights.

If you know the history of reconstruction days following the Civil War, you know how the "scalawags" of the North and the black republicans of the South did much as you are doing to instill into the Negro the idea of social equality. You will remember that these things forced the loyal citizens of the South to form clans of determined men to maintain white supremacy and to safeguard our women and children.

And now you know that history repeats itself and that he who resorts to your kind of a game is handling edged tools. We shall always enjoy WHITE SUPREMACY in this country and he who interferes must face the consequences.

GRAND MASTER FLORIDA KU KLUCKS.

Copy
Local Ku Klucks
Watch this man.

An example of what can be done and what has been done in a small town is the election riot at Ocoee, Orange County, Florida. For weeks before November 2, word had been sent to the Negroes that no colored man would be allowed to vote. The statement was emphasized with the threat that any Negro attempting to cast his ballot would be severely punished. One colored man disregarded the warning. He was the most prominent man in his community, owned a large orange grove worth more than ten thousand dollars, his own home and an automobile. He had always borne the reputation of being a safe and sane leader among his people and had never been involved in trouble of any kind. And therein lay his unpopularity. He was too prosperous—"for a nigger". He, Mose Norman, attempted to vote. He was beaten severely and ordered to go home. The press reports stated later that he had not paid his poll tax nor had he registered. On this point and the succeeding events, may I quote the statement of a white man of the town who said:

".....he was denied upon the ground that he had not paid his poll tax, when, as a matter of fact, the records of this county (if they have not been doctored since) will show that he had paid his tax. The press claimed that he made a threat that he was going home to get his gun, and see that he did vote. I do not believe that anyone, situated as he was, would have been foolhardy enough to make such a threat. After the polls closed, a number of armed men went to his house, without a warrant and without authority of law as is claimed by those approving their action, to arrest this Negro. Two white men were shot in the Negro's backyard. From that time on for three days the community ran riot. I do not believe it will ever be known how many Negroes were killed. Every Negro home, schoolhouse, church and lodge-room in that community was burned, in some instances with women and children occupying the houses, and thus burned to death. . . . The foregoing is a fair sample of conditions which exist in most parts of the state."

The story is essentially as told above. When Norman left the polls he went to the home of July Perry, another colored man, who likewise was unpopular with the whites in that he was foreman of a large orange grove owned by a white man living in New England—a job which the community felt was too good for a Negro. When the mob attacked the colored community the colored people fought in self-defense, killing two white men and wounding two, according to news accounts. Citizens of the town told me that eight or ten whites were killed but that they could not allow the information to become known, fearing the effect on the colored population. However, the mob surrounded the settlement, set fire to it, shot down or forced back into the flames colored men, women and children who attempted to flee. The number murdered will probably never be known. The figures generally given varied from thirty-two to thirty-five. One lean, lanky and vicious looking white citizen of Ocoee of whom I asked the number of dead, replied:

"I don't know exactly but *I know fifty-six niggers were killed. I killed seventeen myself.*"

Whatever the number, two of those known to have died, *were a colored mother and her two-weeks old infant.* Before the ashes of the burned houses had cooled, eager members of the mob rushed in and sought gleefully the charred bones of the victims as souvenirs. As I stood on the spot approximately seventy-two hours following the slaughter, the remains looked as though

THE SIXTH WARD POLLING-TENT, JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA, COLORED SIDE. ABOUT 400 IN LINE DURING ENTIRE DAY

some one had gone over them with a fine-toothed comb.

An amazing aftermath of the occurrence was the attitude of the white inhabitants of Orange County. Talking with numbers of them, the opinion of the majority seemed to be that nothing unusual had taken place—that the white people had acquitted themselves rather meritoriously in checking unholy and presumptious ambitions of Negroes in attempting to vote. Even the white children of Ocoee felt that an event similar in enjoyment to a circus had taken place. One bright-faced and alert girl of eleven when asked what had occurred, told happily of how "we had some fun burning up some niggers". There was no thought of horror at the deed—it was accepted as a matter of course.

Some of the methods used in the smaller towns in eliminating the Negro vote and particularly the colored woman vote were unique. In Orange and Osceola counties, a colored woman would attempt to register; on being asked her age, for example, she would say twenty-four. She would then be asked the year in which she was born. Many of them being illiterate, would not know. The registrar would then probably say, "If you are twenty-four, you were born in 1892, weren't you?" The applicant, seeking to get the ordeal over, would reply in the affirmative. Before she had been away from the place very long a warrant for perjury had been sworn out against her and she had been arrested. I found many cases equally as flagrant where Negro women had been imprisoned for such "offenses" as these.

In the same manner men would be intimidated and threatened. A white lawyer told me laughingly of how a Negro would approach a registration booth in his county, Orange, and ask if he could register. The officials there, in most cases of the poorer order of whites, would reply, "Oh, yes, you can register, but I want to tell you something. Some god damn black ——— —— ——— is going to get killed about this voting business yet."

In Quincy, Gadsden County, the leading colored man of the town, a physician, owner of a drug store and other property including an excellent home, on election day was surrounded as he approached the polling booth to cast his ballot, by a crowd who spat in his face and dared him to wipe his face. His "crime" was that of advising colored men and women to register and vote. He has since been ordered to get out of the town but remains—determined to die rather than submit. He has always been a good citizen and highly respected by both white and colored people.

Two brothers of Live Oak, Suwanee County, who also were good citizens, prosperous and the owners of a large merchandise business, were called from their homes two weeks before election day, beaten almost to death and ordered to leave town immediately for the same offense of urging Negroes to vote. One has gone; the other lies

SAME POLLING-TENT, WHITE SIDE. 75 IN LINE AT 12.40 P. M.
There were 1569 colored women alone registered in this ward and yet only 2633 votes in all were reported

at the point of death from a stroke of paralysis brought on by the beating.

Nor are these isolated cases but rather are they typical of what took place in many parts of the state. The West Palm Beach *Post* of October 30 carried an article with the significant statement, "Sheriff R. C. Baker will have several deputy sheriffs at the polls to arrest *black* violators of the election laws as fast as they appear and ask for ballots." The inference is that only Negroes violated the election laws while it is generally known that white Democratic voters openly carried memoranda into the booths, which is directly contrary to law. Only Negro Republicans were arrested for this violation.

In Jacksonville, where Negroes form slightly more than half of the population of 90,000, the situation was different. In spite of parades of the Ku Klux Klan, vicious newspaper propaganda designed to intimidate Negro voters, and the announcement two days before election that 4,000 warrants had been sworn out in blank form for the arrest of Negroes, the colored vote turned out *en masse*. Most of the colored people live in the second, sixth, seventh and eighth wards. An active campaign was carried on after the passage of the suffrage amendment which resulted in the registration of more colored than white women in all four of the wards. Frantic stories threatening domination by "Negro washerwomen and cooks" failed to bring out the white women to register. To the number of women was added the large registration of men, white and colored, in the spring of 1920. Yet, in the second, seventh and eighth wards the total vote did not equal the registration of colored women alone, while in the sixth ward the total number of votes cast was only a few more than the number of women, white and colored, registered. Every possible effort was made to hamper the voting of Negroes. The polling places were arranged with four entrances—one each for white women, white men, colored women and colored men. No delay was caused to white voters. More than four thousand colored men and women, whose names, addresses and registration certificate numbers are in the hands of responsible colored citizens of Jacksonville, stood in line from 8:00 A. M., the hour of opening, to 5:40 P. M., the hour of closing the polls, and were not allowed to vote.

Unless the problem of the ballot is solved, either through reduction of Southern representation, a force bill or by some other means, and the entire problem of race relations solved through clear thinking and just dealing, our race riots and similar disturbances are just beginning. This may sound pessimistic and as though the problem were viewed only from the standpoint of an alarmist. That is not the case. It is based upon the innermost feelings and thoughts of twelve million Americans who seek to be free.

MARGARET GARNER

A True Romance

LILLIE BUFFUM CHACE WYMAN

THE Ohio River was frozen across in the winter of 1856 and seventeen slaves in Kentucky, seeing their opportunity, took horses and a large sled belonging to one of their owners, and one Sunday night drove to the river-side below Covington. There they left their conveyance and walked across the stream on the ice. Desperate women and tired children were in that party. They reached Cincinnati in the early morning, where nine of them left the others, took another route, and did finally escape to Canada. The remaining eight walked until they found the house of a colored man named Kite, of whom they knew.

This company of fugitives consisted of an elderly couple named Simon and Mary, their son Robert Garner, his wife Margaret and four little children. Simon and Mary had once been separated for years, as an incident of slavery. Some accounts indicate that Margaret had been the occasional victim of the customary and world-wide, avid lust of the white man for the dark woman. However that may be, Robert and she had fled, together, with all the children, in search of a home where they might safely continue their family life. Margaret was about twenty-five years old and not very dark. Lucy Stone, who saw her, described her as having a dignified presence, and as being "one of the most beautiful women I had ever seen". Her oldest child was a little girl, very pretty and nearly white. Next came "two woolly-headed little fellows with fat, dimpled cheeks"; then there was a baby whiter than its mother. Its sex is not recorded.

After the fugitives arrived, Kite went to consult Levi Coffin, the great slave rescuer of Ohio. He returned to find United States Marshall Ellis, with constables already surrounding his house. With them was Archibald K. Gaines, who owned some of the fugitives. He had discovered the sled immediately after it was left on the Kentucky shore, and had followed on the track of the runaways.

The refugees in the now beleaguered house had barred the doors and windows, and refused to surrender when called upon to do so. Then the red horror which stains every page of the Republic's story, began to crimson the scene. A window was broken, blood trickled from the Marshall's wrist; shots were fired into the house, shots were fired out from within. Robert Garner, colored, was, to use our later phrase, a red-blooded American—a man who would defend his women and children. But the struggle could have but one end. The assailants broke their way into the house. Then the crimson flood bore the moment up from the valley of squalid misery to the highest peak of human tragedy. A mother was there!

Margaret had already caught up a knife, and with one deft stroke had cut the throat of her lovely girl child. No lustful wooing, no rapine for her! The constables dragged Robert out. Margaret made an ineffectual effort to kill the little boys, but was overpowered by her assailants, and all the fugitives were taken into custody. During the day they were moved about from office to office to find out under what jurisdiction they belonged, for there was a question where on this earth these fugitives did belong—that is, all except the child who the night before had walked with little feet across the stream which was to be her river of death.

The legal situation was peculiar. As an ordinary human being, Margaret had become a murderer and as such, amenable to the state of Ohio. As a runaway slave she was a piece of property of a kind which the Federal Government had undertaken to return to its owners. The Abolitionists of Cincinnati tried to have her held as a criminal who must stand trial in Ohio. The intention was, after trial and sentence, to induce the Governor of the State, Salmon P. Chase, to pardon her, and then her friends would rush her off to Canada.

During this period of legal worry, the captives were kept in jail, but Margaret was often brought into courtrooms where many people saw her. She wore a dark calico dress, a white kerchief around her neck, and a yellow turban on her head. Her little boys

played carelessly around her knees. She held her baby in her lap and it kept putting up its tiny hands to caress her face. Think of it—the sweet touch of her baby's fingers on this woeful mother's cheek! Most of the time Margaret stared blankly at the floor, but once in a while she looked timidly around the room. She had a scar on her forehead and another on her cheek. Someone asked how she got these scars. "White man struck me," she answered.

Lucy Stone visited her in prison and found her in a state of dumb despair. She did, however, rouse herself enough to say that she had meant to kill all her children, but began with the girl so as to make sure at least of her, because she thought "boys could bear slavery better than girls could." Lucy Stone told her in return that if she had no weapon, she could at any time end her life by tearing open an artery with her teeth and letting herself bleed to death; "I would do it myself," said Lucy Stone.

It was decided, after several weeks, that the fugitives were primarily the captives of the United States whose business it was to deliver them safely into the hands of their individual owners. Therefore, they were sent into Kentucky; but Mr. Gaines had made some sort of a promise to Lucy Stone, and it was understood that he would keep Margaret near the southern shore of the river long enough to enable Governor Chase to make a formal requisition upon Governor Morehead of Kentucky for her return to Ohio for trial there as a murderess.

One "Joe Cooper" followed quickly across with Governor Chase's requisition, but before all legal requirements could be met, Mr. Gaines started with his slaves for Louisville. Cooper pursued them in gallant endeavor, but they were handcuffed and delivered to one Marshall Butts from Covington.

Accounts vary as to the details of what happened next, but the essential facts stand out clearly enough. The *Henry Lewis* collided with another boat, and Margaret Garner's baby was drowned. The statement that the slaves were "handcuffed" makes it uncertain what Margaret herself did, but perhaps the handcuffs had been removed; for one story is that she threw the baby overboard, and another that she let it slide from her lap into the water. The probability is that she herself either plunged with, or after, it into the stream, out of which she was pulled by a colored man and placed on the *Hungarian* to which the other slaves had been removed. She cried out with frantic joy when told that the baby was really drowned, and declared that she herself would never reach their destined port alive. Some one threw a blanket around her and she was described by an eye witness as crouching "like a wild animal" on the floor of the boat's deck.

For many years no printed record reported her after-fate. Levi Coffin, nearly a quarter of a century later, wrote sadly that Margaret was lost in the hell of American slavery. Some thirty years had elapsed when Lucy Stone told me that before the abolition of slavery a letter had made its hazardous way to her. It was signed Robert Garner and said that he thought Mrs. Stone would be glad to know that Margaret had died.

As I think of the crouching figure she does not seem "like a wild animal" but like an image of sublime motherhood.

MARCUS GARVEY

W. E. B. DuBois

MARCUS GARVEY

(An article in the December CRISIS *gave Mr. Garvey's personal history. This article considers his industrial enterprises and the feasibility of his general plans.)*

WHEN it comes to Mr.Garvey's industrial and commercial enterprises there is more ground for doubt and misgiving than in the matter of his character. First of all, his enterprises are incorporated in Delaware, where the corporation laws are loose and where no financial statements are required.[2] So far as I can find, and I have searched with care, Mr. Garvey has never published a complete statement of the income and expenditures of the Negro Improvement Association or of the Black Star Line or of any of his enterprises, which really revealed his financial situation. A courteous letter of inquiry sent to him July 22, 1920, asking for such financial data as he was willing for the public to know, remains to this day unacknowledged and unanswered.

Now a refusal to publish a financial statement is no proof of dishonesty, but it *is* proof that either Garvey is ill-advised and unnecessarily courting suspicion, or that his industrial enterprises are not on a sound business basis; otherwise he is too good an advertiser not to use a promising balance-sheet for all it is worth.

There has been one balance sheet, published July 26, 1920, purporting to give the financial condition of the Black Star Line after one year of operation; neither profit or loss is shown, there is no way to tell the actual cash receipts or the true condition of the business. Nevertheless it does make some interesting revelations.

The total amount of stock subscribed for is $590,860. Of this $118,153.28 is not yet paid for, leaving the actual amount of paid-in capital charged against the corporation, $472,706.72. Against this stands only $355,214.59 of assets (viz.: $21,985.21 in cash deposits and loans receivable; $12,975.01 in furniture and equipment, $288,515.37 which is the alleged value of his boats, $26,000 in real estate and $5,739 of insurance paid in advance). To offset the assets he has $152,264.14 of other liabilities (accrued salaries, $1,539.30; notes and accounts payable, $129,224.84; mortgages due $21,500). In other words, his capital stock of $472,706.72 is after a year's business impaired to such extent that he has only $202,950.45 to show for it.

Even this does not reveal the precariousness of his actual business condition. Banks before the war in lending their credit refused to recognize any business as safe unless for every dollar of current liabilities there were *two* dollars of current assets. Today, since the war, they require *three* dollars of current assets to every *one* of current liabilities. The Black Star Line had July 26, $16,485.21 in current assets and $130,764.14 in current liabilities, when recognition by any reputable bank called for $390,000 in current assets.

Moreover, another sinister admission appears in this statement: the cost of floating the Black Star Line to date has been $289,066.27. In other words, it has cost nearly $300,000 to collect a capital of less than half a million. Garvey has, in other words, spent more for advertisement than he has for his boats!

This is a serious situation, and even this does not tell the whole story: the real estate, furniture, etc., listed above, are probably valued correctly. But how about the boats? The *Yarmouth* is a wooden steamer of 1,452 gross tons, built in 1887. It is old and unseaworthy; it came near

[2] Mr. Garvey boasts Feb. 14, 1920:
"This week I present you with the Black Star Line Steamship Corporation recapitalized at ten million dollars. They told us when we incorporated this corporation that we could not make it, but we are now gone from a $5,000,000 corporation to one of $10,000,000."

[1] This sounds impressive, but means almost nothing. The fee for incorporating a $5,000,000 concern in Delaware is $350. By *paying $250 more the corporation may incorporate with $10,000,000 authorized capital without having a cent of capital actually paid in!* Cf. "General Corporation Laws of the State of Delaware", edition of 1917.

sinking a year ago and it has cost a great deal for repairs. It is said that it is now laid up for repairs with a large bill due. Without doubt the inexperienced purchasers of this vessel paid far more than it is worth, and it will soon be utterly worthless unless rebuilt at a very high cost.[3]

The cases of the *Kanawha* (or *Antonio Maceo*) and the *Shadyside* are puzzling. Neither of these boats is registered as belonging to the Black Star Line at all. The former is recorded as belonging to C. L. Dimon, and the latter to the North and East River Steamboat Company. Does the Black Star Line really own these boats, or is it buying them by installments, or only leasing them? We do not know the facts and have been unable to find out. Under the circumstances they look like dubious "assets".

The majority of the Black Star stock is apparently owned by the Universal Negro Improvement Association. There is no reason why this association, if it will and can, should not continue to pour money into its corporation. Let us therefore consider then Mr. Garvey's other resources.

Mr. Garvey's income consists of (a) dues from members of the U. N. I. Association; (b) shares in the Black Star Line and other enterprises, and (c) gifts and "loans" for specific objects. If the U. N. I. Association has "3,000,000 members" then the income from that source alone would be certainly over a million dollars a year. If, as is more likely, it has under 300,000 paying members, he may collect $150,000 annually from this source. Stock in the Black Star Line is still being sold. Garvey himself tells of one woman who had saved about four hundred dollars in gold: "She brought out all the gold and bought shares in the Black Star Line." Another man writes this touching letter from the Canal Zone: "I have sent twice to buy shares amounting to $125, (numbers of certificates 3752 and 9617). Now I am sending $35 for seven more shares. You might think I have money, but the truth, as I stated before, is that I have no money now. But if I'm to die of hunger it will be all right because I'm determined to do all that's in my power to better the conditions of my race."[4]

In addition to this he has asked for special contributions. In the spring of 1920 he demanded for his coming convention in August, "a fund of two million dollars ($2,000,000) to capitalize this, the greatest of all conventions." In October he acknowledged a total of something over $16.000 in small contributions. Immediately he announced "a constructive loan" of $2,000,000, which he is presumably still seeking to raise.[5]

From these sources of income Mr. Garvey has financed his enterprises and carried on a wide and determined propaganda, maintained a large staff of salaried officials, clerks and agents, and published a weekly newspaper. Notwithstanding this considerable income, there is no doubt that Garvey's expenditures are pressing hard on his income, and that his financial methods are so essentially unsound that unless he speedily revises them the investors will certainly get no dividends and worse may happen[6]. He is apparently using the familiar method of "Kiting" —*i. e.*, the money which comes in as investment in stock is being used in current expenses, especially in heavy overhead costs, for clerk hire, interest and display. Even his boats are being used for advertisement more than for business—lying in harbors as

[3] Technically the *Yarmouth* does not belong to the Black Star Line of Delaware, but to the "Black Star Line of Canada, Limited," incorporated in Canada, March 23, 1920, with one million dollars capital. This capital consists of $500 cash and $999,500 "assets." Probably the Black Star Line of Delaware controls this corporation, but this is not known.

[4] P. N. Gordon.

[5] "The Universal Negro Improvement Association is raising a constructive loan of two million dollars from its members. Three hundred thousand dollars out of this two million has been allotted to the New York Local as its quota, and already the members in New York have started to subscribe to the loan, and in the *next seven* days the three hundred thousand dollars will be oversubscribed. The great divisions of Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Wilmington, Baltimore and Washington will also oversubscribe their quota to make up the two million dollars.

"Constructive work will be started in *January*, 1921, when the first ship of the Black Star Line on the African trade will sail from New York with materials and workmen for this constructive work."

Eleven days later, November 6th, the *Negro World* is still "raising the loan" but there is no report of the amount raised.

[6] It might be argued that it is not absolutely necessary that the Black Star Line, etc., should pay financially. It is quite conceivable that Garvey should launch a business philanthropy, and that without expectation of return, colored people should contribute for a series of years to support Negro enterprise. But this is not Garvey's idea. He says plainly in a circular:

"The Black Star Line corporation presents to every Black Man, Woman and Child the opportunity to climb the great ladder of industrial and commercial progress. If you have ten dollars, one hundred dollars, or one or five thousand dollars to invest for profit, then take out shares in The Black Star Line, Inc. This corporation is chartered to trade on every sea and all waters. The Black Star Line will turn over large profits and dividends to stockholders, and operate to their interest even whilst they will be asleep."

exhibits, taking excursion parties, etc. These methods have necessitated mortgages on property and continually new and more grandiose schemes to collect larger and larger amounts of ready cash. Meantime, lacking business men of experience, his actual business ventures have brought in few returns, involved heavy expense and threatened him continually with disaster or legal complication.

On the other hand, full credit must be given Garvey for a bold effort and some success. He has at least put vessels manned and owned by black men on the seas and they have carried passengers and cargoes. The difficulty is that he does not know the shipping business, he does not understand the investment of capital, and he has few trained and staunch assistants.

The present financial plight of an inexperienced and headstrong promoter may therefore decide the fate of the whole movement. This would be a calamity. Garvey is the beloved leader of tens of thousands of poor and bewildered people who have been cheated all their lives. His failure would mean a blow to their faith, and a loss of their little savings, which it would take generations to undo.

Moreover, shorn of its bombast and exaggeration, the main lines of the Garvey plan are perfectly feasible. What he is trying to say and do is this: American Negroes can, by accumulating and ministering their own capital, organize industry, join the black centers of the south Atlantic by commercial enterprise and in this way ultimately redeem Africa as a fit and free home for black men. This is true. It is *feasible*. It is, in a sense, practical; but it will take for its accomplishment long years of painstaking, self-sacrificing effort. It will call for every ounce of ability, knowledge, experience and devotion in the whole Negro race. It is not a task for one man or one organization, but for co-ordinate effort on the part of millions. The plan is not original with Garvey but he has popularized it, made it a living, vocal ideal and swept thousands with him with intense belief in the possible accomplishment of the ideal.

This is a great, human service; but when Garvey forges ahead and almost single-handed attempts to realize his dream in a few years, with large words and wild gestures, he grievously minimizes his task and endangers his cause.

To instance one illustrative fact: there is no doubt but what Garvey has sought to import to America and capitalize the antagonism between blacks and mulattoes in the West Indies. This has been the cause of the West Indian failures to gain headway against the whites. Yet Garvey imports it into a land where it has never had any substantial footing and where today, of all days, it is absolutely repudiated by every thinking Negro; Garvey capitalizes it, has sought to get the coöperation of men like R. R. Moton on this basis, and has aroused more bitter color enmity inside the race than has ever before existed. The whites are delighted at the prospect of a division of our solidifying phalanx, but their hopes are vain. American Negroes recognize no color line in or out of the race, and they will in the end punish the man who attempts to establish it.

Then too Garvey increases his difficulties in other directions. He is a British subject. He wants to trade in British territory. Why then does he needlessly antagonize and even insult Britain? He wants to unite all Negroes. Why then does he sneer at the work of the powerful group of his race in the United States where he finds asylum and sympathy? Particularly, why does he decry the excellent and rising business enterprises of Harlem—intimating that his schemes alone are honest and sound when the facts flatly contradict him? He proposes to settle his headquarters in Liberia—but has he asked permission of the Liberian government? Does he presume to usurp authority in a land which has successfully withstood England, France and the United States,—but is expected tamely to submit to Marcus Garvey? How long does Mr. Garvey think that President King would permit his anti-English propaganda on Liberian soil, when the government is straining every nerve to escape the Lion's Paw?

And, finally, without arms, money, effective organization or base of operations, Mr. Garvey openly and wildly talks of "Conquest" and of telling white Europeans in Africa to "get out!" and of becoming himself a black Napoleon![1]

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[1] He said in his "inaugural" address:
"The signal honor of being Provisional President of Africa is mine. It is a political job; it is a political calling for me to redeem Africa. It is like asking Napoleon to take the world. He took a certain portion of the world in his time. He failed and died at St. Helena. But may I not say that the lessons of Napoleon are but stepping stones by which we shall guide ourselves to African liberation?"

Suppose Mr. Garvey should drop from the clouds and concentrate on his industrial schemes as a practical first step toward his dreams: the first duty of a great commercial enterprise is to carry on effective commerce. A man who sees in industry the key to a situation, must establish sufficient business-like industries. Here Mr. Garvey has failed lamentably.

The *Yarmouth*, for instance, has not been a commercial success. Stories have been published alleging its dirty condition and the inexcusable conduct of its captain and crew. To this Mr. Garvey may reply that it was no easy matter to get efficient persons to run his boats and to keep a schedule. This is certainly true, but if it is difficult to secure one black boat crew, how much more difficult is it going to be to "build and operate factories in the big industrial centers of the United States, Central America, the West Indies and Africa to manufacture every marketable commodity"? and also "to purchase and build ships of larger tonnage for the African and South American trade"? and also to raise "Five Million Dollars to free Liberia" where "new buildings are to be erected, administrative buildings are to be built, colleges and universities are to be constructed"? and finally to accomplish what Mr. Garvey calls the "Conquest of Africa"!

To sum up: Garvey is a sincere, hard-working idealist; he is also a stubborn, domineering leader of the mass; he has worthy industrial and commercial schemes but he is an inexperienced business man. His dreams of Negro industry, commerce and the ultimate freedom of Africa are feasible; but his methods are bombastic, wasteful, illogical and ineffective and almost illegal. If he learns by experience, attracts strong and capable friends and helpers instead of making needless enemies; if he gives up secrecy and suspicion and substitutes open and frank reports as to his income and expenses, and above all if he is willing to be a co-worker and not a czar, he may yet in time succeed in at least starting some of his schemes toward accomplishment. But unless he does these things and does them quickly he cannot escape failure.

Let the followers of Mr. Garvey insist that he get down to bed-rock business and make income and expense balance; let them gag Garvey's wilder words, and still preserve his wide power and influence. American Negro leaders are not jealous of Garvey—they are not envious of his success; they are simply afraid of his failure, for his failure would be theirs. He can have all the power and money that he can efficiently and honestly use, and if in addition he wants to prance down Broadway in a green shirt, let him—but do not let him foolishly overwhelm with bankruptcy and disaster one of the most interesting spiritual movements of the modern Negro world.

FIVE GENERATIONS
The Faucett-Batie-Smith-Wilson Family of Durham, N. C.

National · Association · for · the · ... Advancement · of · Colored · People.

A GREETING FROM THE NEW SECRETARY

I ENTER upon my new work as secretary with a full realization of the importance of the task before me. In my four years of work as field secretary it has been my privilege to meet and know large numbers of the members and friends of the Association in all parts of the country. Because of the deep insight gained thereby into the loyalty and sincere devotion of those who have given so much of themselves to the cause, I assume the new responsibility with unbounded hope and enthusiasm. I feel supremely confident that with your support and co-operation, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is destined to become the irresistible force in America for freeing the Negro from the bonds which bind him.

There is no greater cause than ours—it is a fight for the rights which belong to all free men. For eleven years we have been building the efficient machine for sustained and organized effort; with loyalty, steadfast courage and unity the goal before us will be achieved.

JAMES WELDON JOHNSON.

THE THOMAS RAY CASE

THE Detroit Branch has been engaged for several months in one of the most spectacular and important extradition cases of recent years.

In June, Thomas Ray, a young colored man, was living in Wilkinson County, Georgia. While passing the home of Dewitt Faulkner, a white man of that county, he was called into the house by Faulkner. When Ray entered the house Faulkner stated that he was not in a good humor and felt like cutting Ray's throat. Ray ran from the house and went home. Knowing Faulkner's vicious reputation in the county for mistreatment of Negroes, Ray avoided an encounter with him. A few Sunday nights later Faulkner shot five times into Ray's home, barely missing Ray's wife and children. The following morning Faulkner approached Ray in the field where he was working, telling him that he regretted his action and had come to apologize. He then asked Ray if he had a gun and received a negative reply. Faulkner thereupon drew his own gun and declared that he was going to kill Ray, but Ray who, in spite of his statement did have a weapon, was quicker and, firing five times, killed Faulkner.

Knowing that he would be lynched if caught, Ray escaped from the county and succeeded in reaching Canada. Later he went to Detroit and secured employment there.

On September 5, the home of Ray's brother-in-law, where Ray was living, was raided spectacularly by two officers of the Police Department of Detroit, aided by Sheriff L. P. Player, of Wilkinson County, Ga., and V. W. Faulkner, a brother of the late Dewitt Faulkner. They broke into the house with drawn revolvers and arrested Thomas Ray, sent in a riot call and surrounded the house with police and detectives. Ray was not allowed to communicate with his friends or attorneys for two days, when arrangements had been almost completed for turning him over to Sheriff Player and Faulkner for return to Georgia. In the meantime Attorneys Willis and Hinton, of Detroit, had been retained to defend Ray. The case also was reported to the Detroit Branch of the N. A. A. C. P., which immediately associated its attorney, W. Hayes McKinney, with the two lawyers and started to raise a fund for the fight to prevent Ray's extradition to Georgia.

Then the long legal fight was begun. Application was made and approved for a hearing on the extradition writ before Governor Albert E. Sleeper. Although the attorneys for Ray proved conclusively that if Ray was taken back to Georgia he would undoubtedly be lynched, Governor Sleeper granted the extradition upon the warrant for Ray's arrest which had been sent on from Georgia. Governor Sleeper did this in spite of the fact that but a few months before he had granted the extradition of a colored man to the state of Kentucky and that man had been lynched less than twelve hours after he had been returned to Kentucky for trial. The lawyers thereupon applied for a writ of habeas corpus from the Circuit Court of Wayne County. The hearing on the writ was held before Judge Ormond F. Hunt,

who found the demand and rendition for extradition not in conformity to law, granted the writ of habeas corpus and ordered the prisoner released from custody. The officers, actuated by the reward of $500 which had been offered by Faulkner's family, attempted to re-arrest Ray on a telegraphed communication from Georgia stating that an indictment was being forwarded by mail. Wishing to have the case thoroughly aired, the attorneys for Ray submitted to his re-arrest, although legally he was a free man.

A new demand was made upon Governor Sleeper for a new hearing on the writ of extradition based on the indictment which was held at Lansing on October 20. Assistant Secretary Walter F. White, of the New York office, appeared at this hearing with the lawyers for Ray and testified regarding the vicious conditions in the state of Georgia and the danger of lynching in the case of Ray, these facts being based on personal investigations which Mr. White had made in the state.

Governor Sleeper again declared that he saw no reason why Ray should not be returned to Georgia and accordingly granted new extradition papers.

The next step was the application for another writ of habeas corpus in the Circuit Court of Wayne County. The hearing on this application was held on Friday, November 19, before Judge Goff, being adjourned to Tuesday, November 23. The attorneys for Ray presented on the 23rd a number of witnesses, including Mr. White, who was brought on from New York, to prove that Ray could not be given a fair trial in Georgia. Judge Goff stated that he had very great sympathy for Ray; that he felt that there was danger of Ray's not receiving a fair trial, but that he could only abide by the Constitution and refuse the writ.

Judge Goff allowed considerable latitude in the giving of testimony so that the lawyers for Ray could place sufficient material in the records on which to base an appeal to the State Supreme Court of Michigan, and allowed until December 13 to file an appeal to the State Supreme Court. There the matter rests. The case will be fought to the last court of resort.

The Detroit Branch and the attorneys for Ray are not averse to Ray's being tried, but, being convinced that conditions in the state of Georgia where, during the past thirty-two years 384 Negroes have been lynched by lawless mobs and the impossibility of any Negro's receiving a fair trial in that state when accused of a crime against a white man, they are determined to save Ray from being returned. A pathetic note enters the case in connection with the aged father of Ray, a poor man, who has spent all that he has to prevent extradition of his son and who is now suffering from an attack of nervous prostration as a result of the strain he has undergone. The Detroit Branch has done excellent work, aided by the churches and citizens of the city, in raising a fund of more than one thousand dollars for the prosecution of this case. Messrs. Willis, Hinton and McKinney have done splendid work in fighting the case. A later issue of THE CRISIS will tell of the final outcome.

LOUISVILLE BRANCH DEFEATS BOND ISSUE

THE power of the Negro vote in Louisville, Ky., in defeating a bond issue for one million dollars from which the colored citizens were to reap no benefit, formed one of the brightest spots in the recent election. Agitation was started in May for the issuing of this amount in bonds for the purpose of improving the University of Louisville, a white institution supported by the city. Being in Kentucky, it does not admit Negro students. There is no institution in the city supported by the city's funds for the higher education of colored students.

The colored schools for the most part are in a deplorable condition—poorly housed, inadequately ventilated and greatly overcrowded. Although the colored population of Louisville formed one-fourth of the population, they were to be taxed equally with the white citizens for the support of the University of Louisville, and no part of the amount of the bonds was to be expended on colored schools. The matter was first taken up by Mr. Wilson S. Lovett, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Louisville Branch. In an extensive correspondence with Dean J. L. Patterson, of the University of Louisville, Mr. Lovett pointed out that colored citizens of Louisville were glad to see the University of Louisville improve, but that they objected to being taxed to provide such betterment of school conditions for whites when the colored schools were so woefully inadequate and in far greater need than the white schools. The discussion pre-

cipitated a bitter fight which culminated in the elections of November 2.

The charter of the city of Louisville provides that in order to pass a bond issue, two-thirds of all the votes cast must be in favor of the bonds. After having given every reasonable opportunity to the sponsors of the bond issue to make some provision for colored schools and after having been unsuccessful in securing any such provision, the colored vote was cast solidly against the bonds. A total of 54,645 votes was cast; the affirmative vote was 32,214 while the negative vote was 22,431. The necessary number to secure passage was 36,763 votes, so that the margin by which the bond issue was defeated was 4,549. The vote in the so-called "black wards" was 12,000 against the bonds, which means that the Negro vote decisively defeated the issue. As a result of this achievement, the Negroes of Louisville have put themselves on record as being a unified group which must be reckoned with and which will fight relentlessly the discriminatory methods used in denying adequate educational institutions for their children.

Mr. Lovett, who was most active in the defeat of the bond issue, was likewise a candidate for the school board. This board, which controls the schools of Louisville, is composed of five members, candidates for which are usually selected by the School Election League. The memberships of these expire at different times. Two such positions were to be filled in the elections this year; since Negroes compose one-fifth of the population the colored voters felt that they were entitled to one membership on the board and nominated Mr. Lovett for that position. This was done after former Postmaster Robert E. Woods, who had shown a particularly prejudiced attitude towards colored people while postmaster, had announced his candidacy as an independent candidate. The local white Republican leaders bitterly opposed Mr. Lovett's nomination, stating that if he won, the Democrats would use the threat of "Negro domination" in the next election. Offers were made to Mr. Lovett to name his own price to withdraw, but to his great and everlasting credit, Mr. Lovett proved that he was not purchasable and announced that he was in the race to stay.

This action caused consternation among the old line politicians. Twelve hours before election Mr. Woods withdrew in order to make sure the defeat of Mr. Lovett. In spite of the vicious tactics used, Mr. Lovett polled 11,266 votes, but was defeated. Two achievements stand out, Woods was forced to quit and the bond issue was killed. It is highly probable that the Negro vote will never be disregarded again in Louisville.

THE MAURICE MAYS CASE

ONE of the regrets of the National Office is that lack of adequate finances prevented it from aiding in the defense of Maurice Mays, a colored man of Knoxville, Tenn., who, in August, 1919, was accused of murdering Mrs. Bertie Lindsey, white, of the same city. There are strong reasons for doubting Mays' guilt as subsequent investigation showed that at the time of the murder, Mays was at his own home asleep, more than a mile from the scene of the crime. The Chattanooga and Knoxville branches, however, have been actively at work seeking a new trial, both because of the gathering of additional information since the trial and because the mob spirit was very intense at the time Mays was convicted and sentenced. Money has been raised though not enough to complete the case in the event that it is carried to higher courts.

On Saturday, November 20, the decision of the lower court was reversed by the Tennessee State Supreme Court and Mays remanded for a new trial This encouraging step was secured on the ground that the jury should have named the punishment instead of the presiding judge. When the papers for the new trial are filed, opportunity will be given to place all of the points in controversy before the Supreme Court of the State of Tennessee.

ANOTHER VICTORY IN ARKANSAS

THE Supreme Court of Arkansas has held that discrimination against Negroes in the selection of both grand and petit juries is in contravention of the Fourteenth Amendment and of the Civil Rights Act of 1875, *and it has consequently reversed the decision of the lower court in condemning to death for the Elaine riots Ed Ware, Will Wordlow, Albert Giles, John Fox, John Martin and Alfred Banks. This is the second time that the court has reversed the sentences of death passed on these Negroes.*

Death sentences on six other Negroes which have been affirmed by the State Su-

preme Court will now probably be held up by the Governor until the present cases are decided.

Governor Brough has made every effort to hang these Negroes, even attempting to influence the court by newspaper articles in which he cited the various Arkansas organizations which were demanding their death.

A LAW MAKING LYNCHING A FEDERAL OFFENSE

SINCE 1911, the N. A. A. C. P. has made a concerted fight against lynching. Its appeal to the nation in 1918, coupled with its publication of "Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States," brought the attention of the civilized world to this crime. Our figures are quoted in literature emanating not only from the Americas but from Europe, Asia and Africa. Having acquired this data we shall now proceed to put our whole effort into the securing of a federal law that shall insure the trial of the lyncher in a federal court. As long as no one is ever punished by the state for lynching, which has been the case for over thirty years of lynching in the South, so long lynching will continue. Today any white man of the South can kill any Negro with the perfect assurance that the state will never mete out punishment to him. It is to puncture this assurance that the Anti-lynching Law is pressed.

SECURING THE VOTE

AS in the case of lynching, the Association is first making a thorough study of Negro disfranchisement. It expects shortly to publish an authoritative statement on the subject. It is doing other important work regarding the recent vote which it cannot yet give to the public.

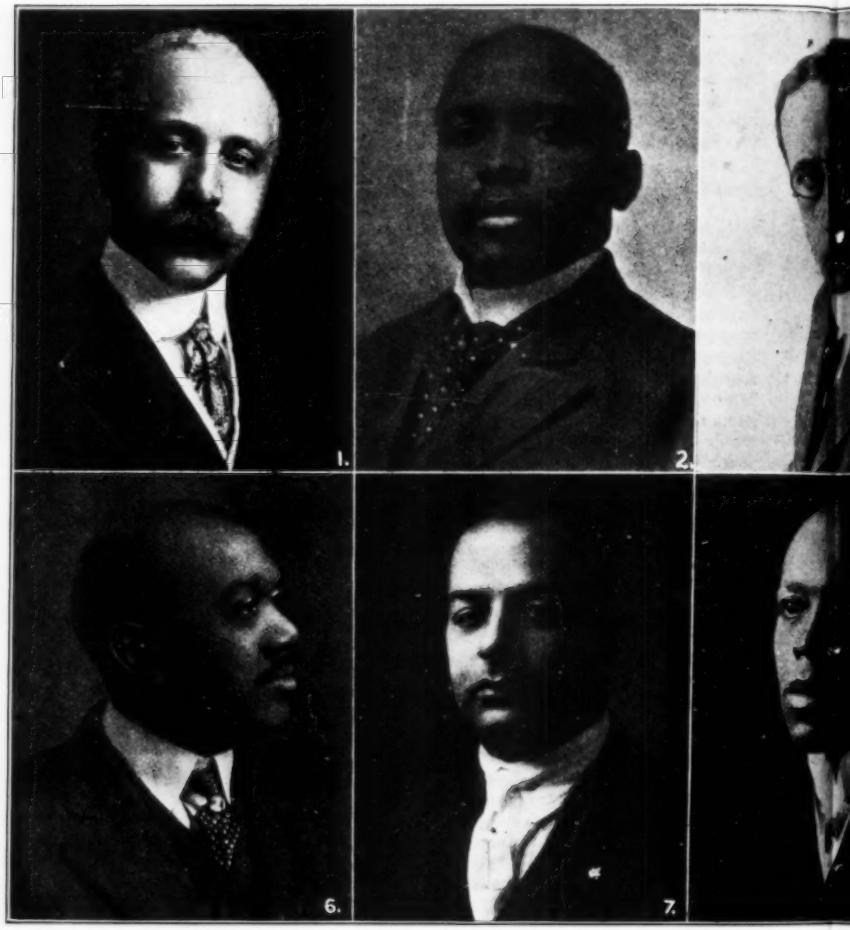
These are the two most important single tasks that we have to attack with the coming year. There is work still unfinished,—the Arkansas cases, the conditions in Haiti; there are also the new cases that will inevitably spring up; there is the vigilant study of the best means for publicity; there is the every-day-in-the-week task of keeping this great organization moving, of losing no unit in the mass that shall make us irresistible in the end.

It is this last task that we ask every reader of THE CRISIS to help us to undertake. If you belong to a branch, will you not help to make that branch a power? If you are in a community where there is no branch and you believe that a branch can operate in your community, will you not establish one there?

Above all, will not every person who reads this and believes in what the Association stands for, if he is not a member, send us his one- or five- or ten-dollar membership?

We shall with the New Year enter upon a drive for a quarter of a million members. With that number we should be an irresistible force, able to affect legislation, able to bring to the twelve million Negroes of this country justice and common humanity.

THE BISHOP OF NIGERIA AT THE UNVEILING OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN STATUE, LONDON, ENGLAND



1. Adelbert H. Roberts, Illinois, lawyer, Republican, yer, Republican. 3. Andrew F. Stevens, Pennsylvaia, lawyer, Republican, re-elected. 5. Harry J. Capehar W Sheadrick B. Turner, Illinois, lawyer, Republican, s:on publican, re-elected. 8. T. Gillis Nutter, West Virgiia, New York, lawyer, Republican, second re-election. . W can. 11. J. H. Ryan, Washington, editor, Farmer-Loor. 13. W. M. Moore, Missouri Rep

publican, re-elected. 2. John C. Asbury, Pennsylvania, lawylvaia, banker, Republican. 4. Warren B. Douglas, Illinois, ehar West Virginia, lawyer, Republican, re-elected. 6. n, second re-election. 7. Harry E. Davis, Ohio, lawyer, ReVirgaia, lawyer, Republican, re-elected. 9. John C. Hawkins, n. 1. Walter G. Alexander, New Jersey, physician, Republi-r-Labor. 12. Frederick M. Roberts, California, Republican. ouriRepublican. (Picture missing).

The Looking Glass

LITERATURE

A NISE in the Seattle, Wash., *Union Record:*

When the SUFFRAGE law
Was passed
And the colored women
Of the South
Came out to register
Many were the humiliations
That met them.
On the first day
They were kept standing
Many hours in line
To DISCOURAGE them,
While the white women
Were called forward
As fast as they entered.
But still the colored women
Kept on coming!
On the second day
They were examined
With difficult questions,
On law and politics;
They were tested in reading
And were yelled at:
"Heah, girl,
Yo' misponounced two words.
Yo' git out o' here!
Yo' can't vote,—
Yo' ain't got sense enough!"
But still the colored women
Kept on coming!
On the third day
The "high sheriff"
Grew impatient.
He shouted: "Yo' niggers
Get out and stay out!
An' if yo' don't stay out,
Dey'll be some BUCK-SHOT
To KEEP you out!"
But still the colored women
Kept on coming.
And somebody cried: "WHO
STIRRED UP
All these colored women
To come and register?"
And nobody told him WHO;
But I guess it was GOD,
Or whatever power it was
That put in man's soul
From the very beginning of time
DREAMS
And hunger for FREEDOM!
Anyway,
They stretched out their hands
For the little white ballot,
The first slight sign
That they who had been
The slaves of slaves
Were self-governing citizens!
And SOME of them
SUCCEEDED
In getting registered,
And the other day at election
They VOTED,
But I hear the judge is going

To throw the ballots OUT,
* * *
On some technical reasons,
* * *
For fear those colored women
* * *
Might really come
* * *
To BELIEVE
* * *
That representative government
* * *
EXISTS
* * *
In America!
* * *

In our November number the name E. R. Jackson as quoted from the Seattle *Union-Record* should have been E. R. Franklin.

VIEWS AND REVIEWS

FRANZ BOAS writes in *The Nation* on Stoddard's *Rising Tide of Color:*

Mr. Stoddard's book is one of the long series of publications devoted to the self-admiration of the white race, which begins with Gobineau and comes down to us through Chamberlain and, with increasingly paasionate appeal, through Madison Grant to Mr. Stoddard. The newer books of this type try to bolster up their unscientific theories by an amateurish appeal to misunderstood discoveries relating to heredity and give in this manner a scientific guise to their dogmatic statements which misleads the public. For this reason the books must be characterized as vicious propaganda, and deserve an attention not warranted by an intrinsic merit in their learning or their logic.

The fundamental weakness of all books of this type, and eminently so of Mr. Stoddard's book, is a complete lack of understanding of the hereditary characteristics of a race as against the hereditary characteristics of a particular strain or line of descent. Each race is exceedingly variable in all its features, and we find in the white race, as well as in all other races, all grades of intellectual capacity from the imbecile to the man of high intellectual power. It is true that intellectual power is hereditary in the individual, and that the healthy, the physically and mentally developed individuals of a race, if they marry among themselves, are liable to have offspring of a similar excellence; but it is equally true that the inferior individuals in a race will also have inferior offspring. If, therefore, it were entirely a question of the eugenic development of humanity, then the aim of the eugenist would be to suppress not the gifted strains of other races, but rather the inferior strains of our own race. A selection of the intelligent, energetic, and highly endowed individuals from all over the world would not by any means leave the white race as the only survivors, but would leave an assembly of individuals who would probably represent all the different races of man now in existence.

* * *

In a second edition of her pamphlet on *Southern Women and Racial Adjustment,* the author, Mrs. L. H. Hammond, writes in the preface:

One must welcome the multiplying signs that the women themselves are growing ready for larger concerted effort, in behalf especially of the Negro woman and her home. The southern Presbyterian and the southern Methodist women have both recently taken forward steps within their own organizations. The Presbyterians have undertaken a girls' department at Stillman Institute, and are planning a multiplication of the institutes for women now held yearly at Stillman, as told in the following pages. The Methodist women have just created a Commission to deal with their colored work, the first body of white women so set aside by any organization in the country. Two farm schools, one for boys and one for girls, are to be operated by these women, and the work already undertaken will be enlarged and extended. The Commission is also charged with the duty of coöperating with any and all agencies which are working toward Christian solutions of racial questions. This is one of several indications that the time is approaching when southern women will unite as the men are doing, and will create throughout the South points of contact between the best women of both races for the better protection of Negro womanhood, and to secure broader opportunities for Negro children.

* * *

A recent number of the French magazine *Le Correspondant,* in a long and interesting article entitled "The Negro Question and The Next Elections," shows how well acquainted France is becoming with the color problem in the United States. This author knows his subject and speaks of Dunbar, Braithwaite, Johnson, Du Bois and Tanner. Here are some of his views:

Today, in spite of every resistance and every difficulty, the Negro has succeeded in becoming a part and a recognized part of the American government. . . . Since the emancipation Negroes have learned self-organization and their manner of learning this is the more interesting from the fact that the state of servitude in which they had been living for more than three centuries was the veritable negation of initiative and responsibility. . . .

The Negro is very sensual and the white woman possesses a special attraction for him. It may be said, however, that the black man possesses the same attraction for certain white women as may be proved by the recent brawls in certain harbors of Great Britain, Liverpool among others, and in the East End of London. It might

equally as well be said that likewise in the United States the colored woman possesses this attraction for the white man. Proof of this is furnished by the considerable number of mulattoes.

HAITI

ADMIRAL MAYS and his board have concluded their farce in Port-au-Prince with the finding that "all but 10 of the 1,142 Haitians killed in the last two years died in open battle." Wilbur Forrest writes in the New York *Tribune:*

It is a certainty that the departure of the board of inquiry leaves the situation more muddled than ever.

* * *

It is understood that the board acted on the instructions of Secretary Daniels. But Secretary Daniels represents the attitude of a people in the main hostile or at best indifferent to the interests and wishes of a dark race. Senator Medill McCormick, while blaming Mr. Daniels, sees the fault of the American Occupation only in its methods of administration. He writes in *The Nation:*

We have seized control of Haiti and Santo Domingo and of their administration. Indeed, in Santo Domingo there is not even a Dominican president. The constitutional legislatures of the two countries are not functioning even by fiction, as the Egyptian Assembly was permitted to function under the British occupation. We took over the Government of the two countries but in return set up no responsible authority—responsible in law, responsible in fact—either to the peoples of the island or to public opinion in the United States. A government of anomalies, such as exists in Santo Domingo or Haiti, one which lives by the very contradictions of its being, one which asserts the present sovereignty of the quondam republics while it denies its actuality, ought to be staffed by able and experienced men and guided by a definite political and economic policy. In Haiti we have a Minister Plenipotentiary, Mr. Bailly-Blanchard, and a fiscal adviser, Mr. McIlhenny, both of Louisiana, both socially attractive and personally charming, but how otherwise qualified to meet the difficulties of their posts I am not informed. There is besides and independent of them, the Commandant of Marines. Who is responsible in Haiti, as Cromer was in Egypt, or as Wood and Taft were in Cuba and the Philippines, or as Lyautey was in Morocco? Who in Santo Domingo is responsible for a fiscal policy which in an era of eight per cent interest prefers to anticipate the payment of the national debt instead of reducing the burden of taxation and more especially the Dominican tariff? Who in Haiti is there who may be punished for authorizing the *corvée*, and severely punished therefore, because it was an error of judgment criminal in its consequences? Who was responsible for the want of any comprehensive agricultural policy in the two so-called republics, for the failure to take adequate steps to improve the live stock of the island or to increase the numbers of swine, cattle, and draft animals? There are officers in Haiti and Santo Domingo who have failed in their duty from incompetence or want of experience, and I am afraid there are others who have abused their powers. But the gross failure, the real culpability, is that of the Secretary of the Navy and the President of the United States, who together failed to vest in a single responsible officer in each of the countries the authority to speak for the United States in all matters, fiscal, military, political, or diplomatic. . . . We are there and in my judgment we ought to stay there for twenty years.

* * *

But do the Haitians want us to stay there twenty years? Or do they want authority vested in a single responsible officer, or indeed any officer at all? Does any American believe that the United States would stay in Haiti twenty days if she were poor in trade and agricultural possibilities? There is only one just answer and that is the one made to Senator McCormick by the editors of *The Nation.* The fault lies not in the *method* of the American Occupation but in that Occupation itself. We read:

U. S. MARINE: "NOW, JACQUES, TELL THE ADMIRAL HOW MUCH YOU LOVE ME"

We feel that Senator McCormick is misinformed on Haitian history. And when he suggests that the "gross failure and the real culpability" lie in the failure of the Democratic Administration to vest all power in Haiti and Santo Domingo in a "single responsible officer," a virtual dic-

tator, *The Nation* must part company with him. The gross culpability, the editors of *The Nation* believe, lies in the fact of our alien occupation rather than in the details of Democratic maladministration. They are not convinced that Republican administration will solve the problem; they do not believe that we should stay in Haiti for twenty years. Nor can they agree with Senator McCormick's description of the Haitians as "primitive African peasants who have managed to live and to multiply despite the anarchy into which their country had fallen." Many Haitians are primitive, but the nation which built the splendid Gothic cathedral in Port-au-Prince in the years 1903-12 cannot be described as "barbarous." There has been voodooism in Haiti just as there has been lynching and as there is superstition and degeneracy in parts of the United States.

There has been occasional anarchy in Haiti, but never such general anarchy as since the American occupation; it is generally believed that at least some of the Haitian revolutions were aided by capital from the civilized United States.

AS EUROPE SEES US

IN view of the fact that there is talk of sending a commission from the United States to investigate British outrages in Ireland, it is interesting to learn what England and other countries think of our own governmental methods. The San Francisco, Cal., *Call and Post* says:

Stephen Graham, an English writer who has been traveling in America, found the northern and eastern States very like his own country. But he found the Southern States very different—with their warm, lazy social life resting on what he calls "the vast feudalism Negro labor." The Negroes were more interesting to him than the white people, for he found the white people content and Negroes restive.

And he also learned why. When they travel they are compelled to sit in special coaches. Though Negroes may have the money to pay for fine automobiles, agencies refuse to sell to them—sacrificing profit to prejudice. Negroes are excluded from Carnegie libraries. Negro schools are dingy and ill-equipped and, though Negroes pay taxes, the streets of their sections are ill-paved and dangerous. Negroes may have telephones in their homes, but their color is indicated in the telephone directory by an asterisk. Negroes are lynched and burned: when the first crime occurs 1,000 more subscribers are added to the circulation of THE CRISIS, a radical, courageous and defiant Negro periodical. Ten thousand new subscribers are supposed to come when a Negro is burned. . . .

Circumstances like these, visible to any stranger, are not very good tourist attractions for the United States. The American people, stumbling and groping through the crude but vital years of its history, has left many painful problems for its children to solve. And "the Negro problem" will never be any easier as long as men are content with substitutes for justice to this race.

* * *

An Associated Press despatch from Moscow shows a knowledge in Russia of American affairs:

The note sent recently by Bainbridge Colby, the American secretary of state, to the Italian Government regarding the Russo-Polish situation, has been much discussed in official circles. . . .

The writer defends the third Internationale as legitimate propaganda, in no wise differing in methods from the counter-propaganda employed in capitalist countries. He repudiates the accusation that Russia is governed other than by the will of the workers, peasants and soldiers, and declares that the great American democracy, "which has practically disfranchised the Negro masses and arrests and persecutes radical parties and organizations," has no right to protest against "the brute force of the Soviet Government."

* * *

The late John Reed at the Moscow meeting of the Communist International, where both Lenine and Trotzky spoke, urged the Union of American Negroes with the radicals of all nations to further world sovietism.

Describing the position of the Negro in the United States, especially in the Southern States, as "terrible," Reed declared the Negro offers a two-fold opportunity to the spread of communism in this country, first, a strong race and social movement, and, second, a strong proletarian movement. Race consciousness has steadily increased among the Negroes, he said, "a certain section of whom are now carrying on a propaganda in favor of an armed revolt against the whites," and Socialistic ideas are rapidly developing among the blacks employed in industrial establishments.

White and Negro labor in both the northern and southern parts of the country must be joined in common labor unions, Reed proposed as the quickest way to destroy race prejudice and develop class solidarity. Until recently, Negroes "were not admitted to membership in the majority of unions which comprise what is known as the American Federation of Labor," he said. "The Communists must not, however, stand aloof from the Negro movement for social and political equality, which is developing so rapidly at the present time among the Negro classes," Reed told the meeting. "Communists must avail themselves of this movement in order to prove the emptiness of Bourgeois equality and the necessity for a social revolution, not only to liberate all laborers from slavery, but also as being the only effective means of liberating the oppressed Negro people."

The Outer Pocket

WOOLASTON, Mass.

I FEEL that a letter of endorsement might encourage you, even if from a plain citizen. I wish to praise and to signify my entire agreement with your article in the November CRISIS on "The Social Equality of Whites and Blacks." I do not see how the case could be better put, or how any free white man can look at it any other way.

However, there are forces at work in the world which will bring about a change and an end of hypocrisy, although perhaps not in our day. Facts are stubborn things.

C. H. BARSTOW.

ARTESIA, New Mexico.

Near here is a settlement of Negroes—a little town called "Blackdom", consisting of farmers who have wrenched every bit of good out of our bitter soil. They are quiet, good citizens and molest nobody. They have had little chance for the cultural things of life and I believe they would welcome an opportunity to take your papers and magazines. Of course, they may already know about them. They have a little school and a church.

Once in Omaha, I had an argument with a man who insisted that any woman's life was in danger who went alone on the streets of the city after night. I maintained that the danger would be from thugs or mashers. I have been accosted by white mashers on the city streets, but I have never been noticed by Negroes. In order to prove my point, I offered to walk the length of Cummings Street alone after nine o'clock. It is a street upon which a large number of colored people live, presumably of the worst class. For three nights I walked home the length of this street, before boarding the street car for Pinckney, and met man after man of the colored race without the slightest effort on his part to even turn and look after me.

RUTH LOOMIS SKEEN.

DAYTON, Ohio.

I am just sad and sick at heart over Tuesday's lynchings. Will you tell me why can't a way be found to stop this? What is in the way of stopping such ruinous barbarism? Will you tell me what I can do to help stop it?

I have wondered why couldn't Alice Paul who was chairman of the National Woman's Party—which picketed the White House and whose members endured prison sentence—be engaged to form a Woman's Party to stop lynchings? Would this be effectual: to have every Negro leave a town in which a lynching has taken place—at once—every man, woman and child—without harming anyone or thing. Wouldn't that create, for that town, an economic problem that other towns would hesitate to bring down upon themselves? HELEN BUCKMILLER.

PARIS, France.

I am living with a French family and my French is improving rapidly. I am told that I am very fortunate as French people do not take strangers into their homes and if they do they never see them except to pay their bills. I am treated as one of the family and am taken everywhere they go. The daughter is my own age and is a musician. It is very pleasant for me.

After reading "Darkwater" I know that you understand what is in my heart and how glad I am to get away just for a little while; and to be treated as a little girl to whom everyone is anxious to be kind and not as "a colored girl who thinks she is as good as the white girls in the office."

BERTHA MOXLEY.

NEW YORK CITY.

I have just finished reading your book "Darkwater." I am taking a copy back with me, for I feel that so much of what you have said applies to us who are an oppressed people also, and I want our people to realize that to gain our rights we must join with all who are similarly oppressed, by the same causes.

You will be interested to hear a little incident on the train. The porter in charge of our car was a medical student who was working his way through college, and he told me that your book had helped him to see things more clearly, that whereas before he was conscious only of a blind hatred—now he saw definite goals, and definite causes opposing these. He was very interested in what I told him of India, and our common struggle.

LILA SINGH.

COMPILED BY MADELINE G. ALLISON

MUSIC AND ART

ETHEL HARDY SMITH, soprano, and Kemper Harreld, violinist, have given a recital at Morehouse College; Frederick Hall was accompanist.

¶ Hazel Harrison, pianist, and William Service Bell, baritone, have appeared in Detroit, under the Æolian Concert Course; Lornetta Henderson was accompanist.

¶ The Prince of Wales and the Duke of York have attended the concerts of the colored Southern Syncopated Orchestra at Philharmonic Hall, London. The Prince attended twice during one week.

¶ Justin Elie, a Haytian pianist and composer, has given a recital at Carnegie Hall, New York City; he was assisted by Mr. Josef Adler. On the program of 11 numbers, 8 were compositions of M. Elie.

¶ "An Evening With Negro Composers" has been given at Texarkana, Tex., by a chorus of 200 directed by Prof. H. B. P. Johnson, of Nashville. The concert was repeated at a white church, First Baptist, marking the first time for a chorus of Negro singers to appear before a white audience.

¶ J. W. Boone, the well-known blind Negro musician, is on his 41st tour. He is assisted by Mme. Marguerite Day, soprano, who studied at the Kansas City Studio of Music.

¶ Among Negro musicians appearing in recital this season are Harvey Baker, tenor, who is a graduate of the Cincinnati College of Music; Mme. M. Waller French, soprano, who has traveled extensively and given recitals in South America; William Holland, bass soloist, who received his musical education at the School of Musical Art in New York; W. Arthur Calhoun, a graduate of the Oberlin Conservatory of Music, who won first prize for the best execution on the pipe organ at the Jamestown Exposition, and for many years was head of the Music Department at Wilberforce University.

¶ Nellie Moore Mundy and Minnie Brown, colored women of New York, give recitals on Negro music for the Board of Education. Miss Brown, soprano, is a pupil of Harry A. Williams and Mrs. Mundy, pianist, is a pupil of Leopold Wolfsohn.

¶ In the Harding-Coolidge parade in New York City, the band of the colored 15th Infantry led the Music Publishers' Protective Association, with Pace and Handy's "A Good Man Is Hard to Find." The selection created much applause.

¶ Mme. Rachael Walker, a colored pupil of Mme. Marchese, has sung in Columbus, Ohio. Mme. Walker is touring the United States before returning to Europe, where she has sung before crowned heads.

¶ Of Charles S. Gilpin, the Negro star actor in "The Emperor Jones" produced by the Provincetown Players in New York City, Heywood Broun, of *The Tribune*, says: "One performance is not enough to entitle a player to the word great even from a not too careful critic, but there can be no question whatever that in 'The Emperor Jones' Gilpin is great. It is a performance of heroic stature. It is so good that the fact that it is enormously skillful seems only incidental." Mr. Gilpin played last season in John Drinkwater's "Abraham Lincoln."

¶ Florence Cole Talbert, soprano, has given a recital at the University of California, being the first Negro to appear at this institution. Her numbers included selections in French and Italian. Mabelle C. Clark, of Xenia, Ohio, assisted as pianist. A correspondent says: "The Greek Theatre is an open air structure with a seating capacity of 10,000, requiring a good strong voice to fill it. Mme. Talbert's voice not only filled it with ease, but her high staccato notes showed the sustaining qualities of her voice. Her art of phrasing and tone painting proved she is an artist. She sang with soul and art combined." Several thousand white people were in the audience.

EDUCATION

CHEYNEY TRAINING SCHOOL FOR TEACHERS, at Cheyney, Pa., has been raised to the status of a state normal school, which qualifies its graduates for teachers in the public schools of Pennsylvania. Leslie Pinckney Hill is principal of the school.

¶ Since 1912 the John F. Slater Fund has aided in the establishment of 331 county training schools for Negroes and placed 1,890 teachers; there have been 5,363 pupils in high school grades. Salaries have been paid as follows: from public tax funds, $577,996; through the Slater Board, $170,483. Since 1916 the General Education Board has appropriated $110,381 for building and equipment of these schools.

¶ In a contest between the junior and sophomore hockey teams at Wellesley College, the sophomore team won with Clarissa Mae Scott, daughter of Emmett J. Scott, playing "full back".

¶ Alice Munday, a graduate of Howard University and Pratt Institute, has passed the examination of the State Board of Indiana as Supervisor in Domestic Science with an average of 92%. Miss Munday is 21 years of age and a teacher of the Vocational School at Gary, Ind.

¶ A series of 14 Free Public Lectures is being conducted at Howard University. Among the speakers are 10 professors, 3 deans and President J. Stanley Durkee.

¶ The *Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority* at Howard University has been granted a sorority house on the campus.

¶ Mr. R. R. Wright, Sr., has celebrated 50 years of educational service. He is president of Georgia State Industrial College at Savannah.

¶ In a contest with pupils from 26 schools of New York, two Negroes, Countie Porter Cullen, of DeWitt Clinton, and Alma Rochford, of Manual Training, were awarded prizes by the High School Poetry Society of New York.

¶ Dr. George W. Prince, a Negro specialist in diseases of children, has returned from Europe to resume his practice in Chicago. Dr. Prince is a graduate of Northwestern University; he pursued post-graduate study at the University of Vienna from 1914 to 1915, and has specialized at the University of Paris.

¶ F. E. Corbie, a Negro freshman at the College of the City of New York, is winner of the highest award in an oratorical contest. His subject was "Justice to the Negro." Mr. Corbie is captain of the debating team.

¶ Five Negroes have been elected regular teachers in the public schools at Baltimore, Md.,—the Misses Leonia Hall, Ruth Brownley, Fannie R. Glascoe and Messrs. W. Deaver Brown and Lawrence Queen.

¶ The Colored Teachers' Association has been organized at Aiken, S. C. Professor A. W. Nicholson is president.

¶ Professor Harry T. Pratt, principal of Benjamin Banneker School at Baltimore, Md., has returned to the United States after several months' study in Paris.

¶ An Alumni Association of Bordentown Industrial School has been formed, with the Rev. J. Franklin Jones as president.

¶ After examination of 518 students, Elliot Douglass, a Negro, has been placed on the Judging Team of five members who will represent Ohio State University at the International Live Stock Exposition in Chicago.

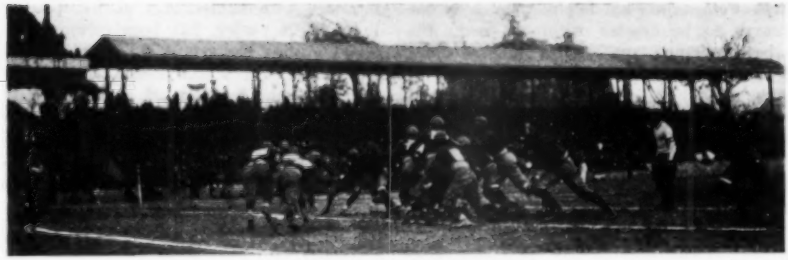
¶ Through Y. M. C. A. organizations and the Inter-racial Committee of Kentucky, Howard University has been awarded 55 scholarships, amounting to $4,465, from 19 states; the Federal Board for Vocational Education has provided for the training of 58 students in the college, music, architecture, law, dental and medical departments.

G. CALLOWAY

¶ G. Calloway has played tackle on Columbia University's Varsity Eleven.

¶ John Shelbourne, Dartmouth's Negro football full back, has gone to Seattle, Wash., with the team. In the Dartmouth-Brown game, Dartmouth won by a 14-6 score, with Shelbourne making the first 6 points.

¶ *Howard* has had the champion football team among colored schools, having defeated Shaw, Virginia Normal and Industrial, West Virginia Collegiate, Union, Hampton and Lincoln; she was scored against but once, by Virginia Normal and Industrial. *West Virginia Collegiate Institute* stands second, having played 6 games, defeating Louisville, Bluefield, Virginia Normal and



THE HOWARD-LINCOLN GAME

Industrial and Wilberforce, and being defeated by Howard. *Talladega* apparently stands next, having defeated Miles, Clark, Atlanta, Florida and Tuskegee; only Atlanta and Florida scored. *Hampton* played 5 games, winning 2 from Virginia Normal and Industrial and Lincoln, and being defeated by Shaw, Howard and Union. *Virginia Union* defeated St. Paul, Morgan, Morehouse and Hampton, and was defeated by Greensboro and Howard. *Fisk* defeated Knoxville, Kentucky State, Lane, Rust, Kentucky and Tuskegee, and was defeated by Morehouse. *Shaw* defeated Hampton, Virginia Normal and Industrial, Greensboro and Biddle, and was defeated by Howard and Lincoln. Colleges not listed above have failed to answer our inquiries.

MEETINGS

THE *Delta Sigma Theta Sorority* will hold its annual convention at Wilberforce, Ohio, December 28-30.

¶ *Omega Psi Phi Fraternity* will hold its 9th annual convention December 27-30 at Fisk University and Meharry Medical College, Nashville, Tenn.

¶ The annual convention of the *Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity* will be held December 27-31 at Kansas City, Mo. The fraternity has 900 undergraduate members and 1,200 graduate members. A reduced rate of 1½, round trip fare, has been granted by railroads on the "Certificate Plan." Norman L. McGhee, Howard University, Washington, D. C., is secretary.

¶ The 36th annual session of the Colored Teachers' State Association has convened at Houston, Tex. The organization has 366 members. Mr. A. E. Holland, principal of Lincoln High School, at Palestine, Tex., is president.

¶ The Georgia State Baptist Convention has met with 1,500 delegates. During the year $110,226 was raised. The Rev. M. W. Reddick, of Americus, is president, and the Rev. C. T. Walker, of Augusta, vice-president at large.

¶ There has been a meeting of the officials of the colored Land Grant Colleges at Atlanta, Ga., at the call of the United States Commissioner of Education. The United States Land Grant funds, which formerly went to Hampton Institute, have been transferred over the protest of Hampton to the Virginia Normal and Industrial Institute. They amount to about $27,000.

SOCIAL PROGRESS

AT Tallapoosa, Ga., Bishop W. Sampson Brooks has preached in a white church to a white congregation, being the first Negro in that pulpit.

¶ Governor Morrow at Kentucky recently designated an "Inter-racial Sunday", in order that the religious, moral, physical and educational needs of the Negro may be discussed from the pulpit and receive Christian consideration.

¶ The Community Service is conducting a "Play Leaders' Institute" at Howard University. Registrants are teachers, church, social and playground workers and community center secretaries. The work is under the direction of Lawrence A. Oxley, who during the war was the only Negro Morale Officer in the United States Army. The courses include departments in social and physical education, drama and pageantry and community music.

¶ A Negro fire company, No. 8, has been established in Atlantic City, N. J. The Negro population of 10,698 is a gain of 864 since 1910.

¶ Julius Rosenwald has contributed $25,000 toward a Y. W. C. A. building for col-

ored women in Philadelphia, which is the fourth to be erected within a year; the other buildings are located in New York City, Washington, D. C., and Little Rock, Ark. The Y. W. C. A. at the beginning of the war had 16 centers for colored girls; it now has 58 centers with a membership of over 50,000, of whom 2,000 are girls of high school age who belong to the Girl Reserves.

¶ The National War Relief Committee has given $5,000 to the Circle for Negro War Relief.

¶ Harold E. Simmelkjaer, a Negro in New York City, has been awarded a verdict of $50 against Keith's Alhambra Theatre for discrimination.

¶ Colored nurses have been installed in the colored section of the County Hospital at Macon, Ga.

¶ In the District of Columbia during the week ending October 30, 38 Negroes died, while births totaled 46; among white people there were 62 deaths and 98 births.

¶ Negroes at Montgomery, Ala., have suffered a property loss of $100,000 through "night riders"; 3 Negroes have been killed and 11 arrested in an effort to check an "uprising".

¶ Mrs. A. L. Turner, a colored woman, has been elected a member of the City Board of Directors of the Detroit Y. W. C. A. Other cities having colored representation on their boards are New York and Philadelphia.

¶ The Herndon Social Center and Day Nursery has been opened in Atlanta, Ga. Mr. Herndon, a Negro, at a cost of $10,000 purchased property and equipment for the project which he has deeded to the Gate City Free Kindergarten Association; he has also assumed the salary of a worker.

¶ Philip A. Armstead, a Negro in New York City, has passed the physical examination for patrolman with 100%. He is 5 feet 11½ inches and weighs 180 pounds.

¶ With the dismissal of the officers in charge of cadets at Howard and Hampton, the last of the colored A. E. F. officers have been dismissed from the U. S. Army.

THE CHURCH

MR. N. B. DODSON, Superintendent of the Sunday School of Concord Baptist Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., has retired after 28 years of service. Mr. Dodson received $100, the gift of the church, and a gold watch and chain from the Sunday School.

¶ At Union Baptist Church, Baltimore, Md., the 48th anniversary of Dr. Harvey Johnson, as pastor, has been celebrated.

¶ St. Philips Protestant Episcopal Church in New York City has celebrated its 100th anniversary. The Rev. H. C. Bishop has served as rector for 40 years. The church has 2,500 communicants and $8,000,000 in real estate.

¶ The 91st anniversary of Fifth Street Baptist Church in Louisville, Ky., and the 34th anniversary of its pastor, Dr. John H. Frank, have been celebrated.

¶ St. Marks Methodist Episcopal Church in New York City during October had an offering of $10,000; at a Sunday evening rally service, $9,092 in cash was raised. A new edifice with a seating capacity of 2,000, a parish house and a parsonage have been contracted for in Harlem, on Edgecombe avenue. The property is 34 feet in the rear, 67 feet front and 200 feet deep. The Rev. William H. Brooks is pastor.

POLITICS

THOUGH he was defeated, Mr. J. H. Blount, the Negro at Little Rock, Ark., who ran for Governor, outran his lily-white opponent two-to-one to ten-to-one in some centers; in Pulaski and Jefferson counties he was returned winner by a decided majority.

¶ At Brooklyn, Ill., Negroes cast 641 Republican votes and one Democratic vote.

¶ Mr. H. E. Scotland, a Negro, has been elected for a term of 5 years as Justice at Irvington, N. J. Mr. Scotland has been Justice of the Peace for 16 years.

¶ Dr. Darrington Weaver, a Negro at St. Louis, Mo., has been appointed post-mortem physician in the office of Coroner Edward Richter, elected on the Republican ticket. Dr. Weaver, who is 31 years of age and a graduate of Meharry Medical College, 1914, will receive a salary of $5,000 per year.

CRIME

THE following lynchings have taken place since our last record:

Johnson City, Tenn., October 28—Cooksey Dallas; refusal to sell whiskey to white soldiers.

Ococee, Fla., November 2—July Perry and others, shot and burned; wounding an officer at registration booth where Perry was refused a ballot.

Tylertown, Miss., November 6—Harry Jacobs; assaulting a farmer.

Bristol, Va., November 18—Dave Hunt; assaulting white woman.

Douglas, Ga., November 18 — Minnie Ivory, Will Ivory, Will Perry; accused of collusion in the murder of a planter.

INDUSTRY

CHARLES GANT, a Negro laborer at Carbondale, Ill., has earned $148 for 6 days' labor. The work was that of carrying 5,927 ties, weighing 150 pounds each, a distance of from 10 to 45 feet. He worked 9 hours a day and carried over 100 ties per hour.

¶ The Department of the Interior has approved plans by Mr. W. T. Bailey, a colored architect at Memphis, Tenn., for the $200,000 Pythian Bathhouse and Sanitarium and the $125,000 Woodmen of Union Bathhouse and Sanitarium at Hot Springs, Ark. Mr. Bailey was awarded the degree of Master of Architecture from the University of Illinois in 1910; for 9 years he was head of the Architecture Department at Tuskegee Institute; he now has more than a million dollars worth of buildings under plan and in the course of construction.

¶ J. Frances Rickards, a Negro at Detroit, Mich., has been retired by the Post Office Department after 40 years of continuous service. Mr. Rickards is Supreme Sovereign Grand Commander of the Northern Masonic Jurisdiction.

¶ Samuel L. Burton, a Negro in Baltimore, Md., started a clothing business in 1917; his first year's business amounted to $17,000; in 1918, $35,000; 1919, $45,000; for 1920 his business is estimated at $60,000.

¶ Thomas R. Crawford, a Negro of St. Louis, Mo., has been an employee of the Handlan Bush Manufacturing Company for 53 years; he was retired recently and given a $1,000 Liberty Bond from his employer and a gold watch from his fellow workers. Mr. Crawford, who is the father of 3 children, has accumulated real estate and is considered wealthy.

¶ The Rock Island Railroad has assigned Thomas J. Johnson, a Negro of Chicago, Ill., on a regular run as a brakesman.

¶ Negroes at Birmingham, Ala., have opened a $25,000 steam laundry,—the Climax Laundry and Dry Cleaning Company. Mr. C. W. Carns, Jr., is manager.

¶ St. Luke Penny Savings Bank at Richmond, Va., has completed 17 years of business. At the end of the first year there were resources of $19,000. During its existence the bank has paid to stockholders $20,000 in dividends and $51,000 in interest to depositors; it has resources of a half million dollars and undivided profits and surplus totaling $15,000.

¶ Colored farmers at Madison County, Ala., have organized a branch of the American Cotton Association. Mr. W. A. Love is president and the branch has 200 members.

¶ At Florence, Ala., Robert Buckingham, a Negro, owns a store and 34 dwellings.

¶ Grand Lodge, Knights of Pythias, at Houston, Texas, reports, assets: office building, $250,000; cash in endowment fund, $44,738; cash in Grand Lodge fund, $17,982, a total of $312.720; the liabilities are $2,000. Mr. W. S. Willis is grand chancellor.

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

THE Federal Bureau of Juvenile Placement has appointed Mae B. Maxwell, formerly Director of Survey and Room Registry for the Atlanta Urban League, to the position of Vocational Counselor for the colored public schools of Atlanta, Ga.

¶ Seventy-five women clerks, bookkeepers and stenographers comprising a Business Women's Association were recently organized in Atlanta with the assistance of the Atlanta Urban League, for the purpose of developing themselves in business acumen, securing better recreational facilities and promoting friendly acquaintance.

¶ The owner of Theatre "81" on Decatur Street, Atlanta, a thickly populated colored district, has turned the theatre over for use on Sunday afternoons to the Urban League. A variety program is given, consisting of community singing, health and educational movies and talks.

¶ The Educational Department of the National Urban League has made the following placements: R. M. Moss (Columbia, 1918, Fellow at the New York School of Social Work, 1920), Boys' Club Worker at Frederick Douglass Recreation Center, Toledo, Ohio; Anna L. Holbrook, Community Worker for Children's Aid Society, Buffalo, N. Y. The workers placed by this Department during the past 16 months received salaries that annually total $28,400.

¶ The Cambridge Urban League is employing a full time Executive.

¶ The Louisville Urban League has been reorganized, approved by the Community

Chest and financed through its general budget.

¶ Depression in industry caused by post-war readjustment is resulting in the dismissal of large numbers of Negro workers along with white workers. The industrial departments of the Urban Leagues of Chicago, Milwaukee, Detroit, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Atlanta, New York, Boston, and Newark are especially burdened with the problems of unemployment at this time. They are holding noon-day and evening meetings of groups of employees in an effort to stimulate production and increased efficiency as a means of keeping the men on their jobs.

PERSONAL

THE late Mr. J. C. Harrington, of Osborne, N. C., was an agent of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, and wrote $100,000 worth of insurance for them.

¶ Scipio Young, a Negro 101 years of age, is dead at Kane, Pa. He leaves an estate valued at $50,000, which is willed to his 6 children.

¶ John C. Dancy, former Recorder of Deeds at Washington, D. C., is dead.

¶ Charles R. Douglass, the only surviving son of Frederick Douglass, is dead at Washington, D. C.

¶ Bishop Evans Tyree, of the A. M. E. Church, is dead at Nashville, Tenn.

¶ The 4 sons of John H. Selby, a Negro at Seaford, Del., took out $10,000 each in war risk insurance; the 4 men were killed and Mr. Selby is beneficiary to $40,000 worth of Government insurance, which is paid to him at a rate of $200 per month.

FOREIGN

THE Honorable Hector A. Josephs, a Negro, has been appointed Assistant Attorney General of Jamaica by Lord Milner. Mr. Josephs was educated at York Castle and at Cambridge and London Universities.

¶ When the 372nd colored Infantry left France, a sum of money was collected among the men and given to General Quillet for the erection of a shaft in memory of their fallen comrades. At Monphois, on October 25, a stone monument was dedicated. Cardinal Coadjutor Nevu of Rheims celebrated mass on the field.

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THE

Crisis Calendar 1921

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Therefore at this joyous season of the year we first give thanks to Him from whom cometh all good things; then to the good people who have so willingly and consistently entrusted to our care and keeping the sacred duty of protecting their firesides in the time of sickness, accidents and death; and last, but not least, to that band of ever faithful co-workers—our officers, superintendents, agents and clerks—for their loyal devotion to the interests of both the policyholders and the Society.

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Silk jersey **petticoats,** $7.15-$8.79; **bloomers,** $7.15-$8.45; glove silk **camisoles,** $2.60; **bloomers,** $5.53-$7.15; **vests,** $4.55-$4.89.

Sweaters, $2.88-$15.60; **scarfs,** $1.98-$6.95.

Rubbers, artics and **boots,** $.65-$5.63; **umbrellas,** $1.85-$4.79.

Woolen underwear, **union suits,** $3.25-$4.89; **shirts** and **drawers,** $1.49-$4.25 each.

Aprons and **housedresses,** $.49-$2.65; **boudoir caps,** $.49-$2.89.

Philippine embroidered **chemise** and **gowns,** $4.42-$5.85 each; muslin **chemise** and **gowns,** $1.39-$3.25 each; **petticoats,** $1.49-$3.89; **drawers,** $.98-$1.19; **corset covers,** $1.25-$1.49.

Waists, $1.39-$9.75; **skirts,** $5.98-$14.50.

Children's **coats,** $4.29-$18.85; juniors' $11.50-$23.40; ladies' $12.00-$54.60; men's $18.25-$45.50.

Men's **suits,** $19.50-$39.00; boys' **knickerbocker** $5.25-$16.58; **trousers,** $4.55-$9.43.

Infants' **dresses,** $1.19-$2.99; **caps,** $.98-$1.95.

Ladies' **shoes,** $4.68-$9.88; men's, $3.50-$11.50; children's, $1.59-$4.68.

MISS MADELINE ALLISON

Room 622, 70 Fifth Avenue **NEW YORK, N. Y.**

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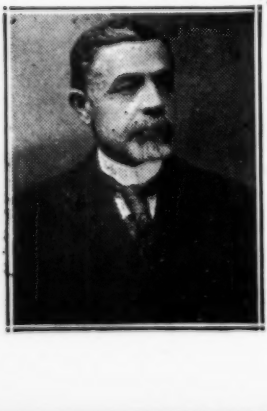

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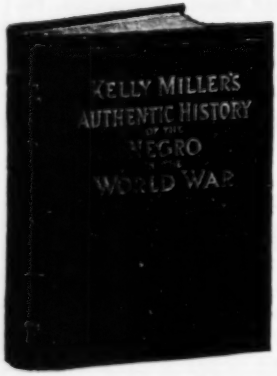

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